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B34

/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked" /cited in English/ must this be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (84). Girls learn to conduct them-

[567]

84. See page 59 as to the conduct of young Kamanakarkipa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a mere string around the hips, but, as Hyades (g) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this Mashakana, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

[516]

Hyades (p) :338 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "it is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I tactfully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

291

The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad weather. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

/572 cont./

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whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

271

The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (339). The extraordinary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /573/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

339. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much; I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

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This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, ẽmbalim (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/573 cont./

271 cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in
•516 front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the
445 sponsor puts it on the ulwala /candidate/ at the close of the
[491] initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube at a brook. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoupgounnis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormoran /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for
445 the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/621 cont./

491 time they have severe toothbomb, as travelers of the "Beagle" maintained, has not been proved and is completely unknown to me personally.

themselves. The men gather small tree trunks for hut-building and large sticks for firewood. Sometimes they go deep into the woods to hunt for suitable pieces of bark for a new canoe and poles for weapons. In case of an accident or if they lose their canoe, they must cover great distances. They can reach some birds, otters, and seals only on land. The woman, too, is not spared daily errands on foot. By and large, our Yamana are much on their feet throughout the day and are always going hither and yon, over and over again (435). We must admit that their gait

435. Hyades (4):213 correctly maintains: "Contrary to what has been said by some authors, the Fuegians walk a great deal, and on the slightest pretext they are continually coming and going in the vicinity of their huts" /translated from French/.

is always light and quick. Even when the ground is soft, they hardly sink in, and in general they leave only very faint footprints. "For example, even when they have lived for a long time in the same place, it is not possible to discover, unless one follows them, the pool where they get drinking water 20 times a day" /translated from French/ (Hyades [4]:213).

•516 The Fuegians do not have stools in their huts or benches in their canoe. They do not like to sit down on an object, say, a stone or tree, with their legs hanging down. Their most comfortable sitting position is to squat on the flat ground. In this case they either rest their buttocks on the ground and have the soles of their feet flat on the ground with the heels touching the buttocks -- usually with one bent knee turned outward -- or the two legs are half-bent at the knees, closed and turned outward, extending immediately in front of the buttocks which rest on the ground, with one leg more or less on top of the other, or finally,

/811 cont./

• 516 they crouch in such a way that only the two soles are flat on the ground and the buttocks rest on the heels without touching the ground (436). In each of these positions the individual requires

436. Hyades (9) on Plates 16, 17, and 18 illustrates the very characteristic way our Fuegians sit and squat on the flat ground.

very little room, which is all the more advantageous since even a large family can be accommodated in a small canoe. Despard (9):697 has expressed himself somewhat vaguely: "In their huts, as well as canoes, the natives sit upon the heel, with the thigh pressing /811/ close up against the stomach and chest. Thus each individual, packed up in smallest compass, needs little space for his accommodation" /cited in English/. Hyades (9): 333 says the same thing in the following words: "Habitually the Fuegians sit in a squatting position which is imposed upon them by their way of life" /translated from French/. They also sleep in this manner, with their legs drawn up. They do not do this, as Hyades (9):333 maintains, merely to take up little room, but, in my opinion, chiefly to protect themselves from getting too cold, for they cover their bodies only lightly so as to get all the radiating heat of the hut fire. When the people squat directly on the ground, they incline the upper part of their bodies forward more or less; women bend far down when they fish from the canoe. No one feels uncomfortable this way, and I never saw anyone, upon arising afterwards, stretch themselves. They do not show a desire to get out of this bent position.

They are somewhat unready when they stand. either their knees are constantly swaying back and forth slightly, or they very inconspicuously move from one leg to the other. It seems as though they cannot hold still long. They can never voluntarily stay in one spot for more than a few minutes. If they are obliged to, they seek to occupy themselves in some way: either they play with stones or poke about among their implements or light a fire, in front of which they can sit for hours without being bored (437). On the whole, the upper part of the body inclines

437. Despard (9):697 confirms this very definitely.

/922 cont./

516 forward a bit when they stand, the feet are not close together but bent inward, and the knees are slightly bent. The arms do not fall down straight along the sides of the body, but in such a way that the hands rest on the front part of their thighs. They do not remain in an upright position for more than a few minutes. If they have a choice, they soon squat on the ground again, because they can rest better that way.

487 Overland routes have been used since ancient times in order to avoid a dangerous coast or a long circuitous route. The best known are three in the territory of the southwestern group, that is, from the lowest point of Tekenika Bay straight south (438).

438. This overland route was much used because, if possible, the people avoid circumnavigating False Cape Horn with its strong sea-swell. Moreover, the mission station in Tekenika Bay temporarily afforded a certain attraction.

from the western shore of this inlet southwestward into Bahía Ducee, and from the deep inlet of Canal Carlott to Estero Pomeuby. When the mission station was located there, the first two routes were used a good deal. Sometimes people left their canoe at the landing place and covered the distance entirely on foot. This is also true of the isthmus of Caleta Awaiakir, due south to the northernmost edge in the western part of Estero Pomeuby. I was also told that the two narrow places on the northern half of Península Ross and the narrowest land connections in the middle of /923/ the large Londonderry Island were overland connecting routes. Every family was entitled to use these trails. They were [491] actually corduroy-roads over which one could rather quickly drag the canoe without much effort.

In a few places it is necessary to cross a brook on foot. There are no actual rivers south of Beagle Channel. As a ford, tuwēpi, they choose a shallow place in the bed, surrounded by flat, low shores. They make no particular signs, but everyone keeps the place well in mind. They wade through the brook, of course (439).

439. Hyades (p):237, also, writes, "one

/856 cont./

X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidates are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the
866 Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uš̌wā́ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hḗtakuxḗolan.

X881 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut each candi-
● 516 date must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on
866 his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

[171]

278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows strained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uš̌wā́ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 The adults intentionally provide each uš̌wā́ala with repeated
966 opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

/908 cont./

is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the uwíala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless

/909 cont./

posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all unnecessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the čiēxaus hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his instructions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite noticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the čiēxaus hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

X 575 293

/1352 cont./ one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry imi powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 713).

X 575 516 785

If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the ufwala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1353 cont./

X 515 516 785

without moving, the discomfort of a strong draft or smoke from the hut fire. It is only when the fire temporarily gives off too much heat that the sponsor builds a low protective screen of twigs and brush between the candidate and the fire. During the first few days the ulwáala observe these requirements with painstaking exactness, but after that neither the sponsor nor the leader prevents them from raising their eyes and looking directly at the various spirit appearances or even smiling when the men laugh about some successful deception. The initial strictness is considerably relaxed, and finally the individual makes himself quite comfortable. He is never given the complete freedom of movement which the other participants enjoy, however. After a few days an ulwáala may slip into a negligent posture and let his eyes roam about practically unrestrained, but in any case he must constantly remain crouched in his place.

X 515 785

While some of the men stretch out comfortably in their sleeping places during the day, the candidate must remain upright. The program itself curtails his sleep at night, for when the spirit appearances have ended and the men have ceased their subsequent conversation, midnight is usually already past. It is only after the rest of the men have wrapped themselves in their blankets and deep silence has descended on the Great Hut -- which is supposed to announce to the women outside that all the spirits have departed -- that each sponsor gives his protégé permission in so many words to go to sleep. The ulwáala may stretch out and make himself comfortable insofar as the limited space in the Great Hut permits. But as soon as the gray dawn appears in the eastern sky, he is again awakened by a call or an unmerciful nudge from his sponsor. Immediately the candidate sits up and takes the required position. He rubs his sleepy eyes with his hand and hastily arranges his hair. This completes his morning toilet. The constant curtailment of sleep makes the candidate weary and weak.

The short daily rations also contribute to this weakness. The ulwáala is never permitted free access to the meat which on some days is brought into the Great Hut in excess. The sponsor himself always gives it to him as he sees fit. As a rule he gives him /1364/ a larger piece of meat in the morning or about 20

/1405 cont./

X756 302 during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves. On some days the leader also reaches for ímí powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on his background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair; most of them smear a good deal of the sticky tumarápu on their heads. Everyone ties the apawéna around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the yékamuš, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as lapaxél (p. 719). Everyone renews this body painting every day usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women yékamuš must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the lóima house without being painted.

X756 185 516 Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him; his upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as lalalakúna, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, stiff and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position; in exceptional cases he may also sit for a

X 756 /1405 cont./
785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
● 516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X 756 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or
513 five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yĕkamuš sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yeſ́čel live in the old trees from which this šalalakína wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yeſ́čel-xé́ola even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X 756 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yĕkamuš merely seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human
827 being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the lóima-yĕkamuš for those uſwáiéxamuš who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yĕkamuš, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis ilicifolia (it is known as čílĕr), dips it into the white tumaráipu powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

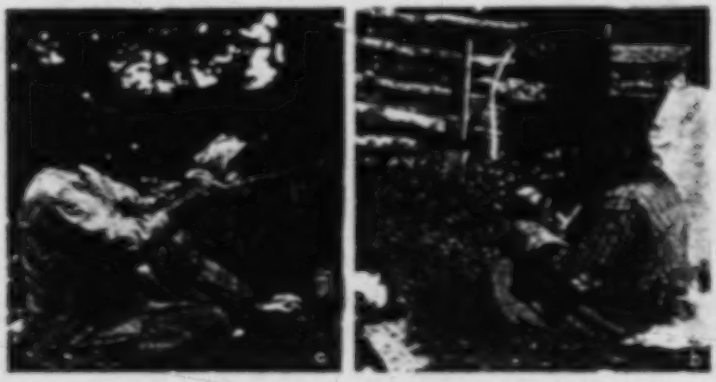

FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

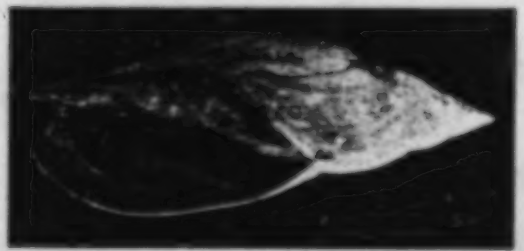

FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*auſdn*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Yahgan SH6
291
411
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H2

[p. 160 D]